

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1384
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
USMISSION NATO

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FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJECT: BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: BACKGROUND TO DEVELOPMENT OF NEW
NEUTRAL PAPER

REF: BELGRADE 4520

SUMMARY: AS ANTICIPATED (REFTEL), NEW NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED
(NNA) COMPREHENSIVE PAPER ON AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION FOR MAIN
MEETING (TEXT AND DETAILED ANALYSIS BY SEPTELS) OMITS TICKS
FROM MAIN SUBSTANTIVE AGENDA ITEM ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS,
BUT PROVIDES OPTICAL SEPARATION WITH SPACE BETWEEN IMPLEMENTA-
TION AND NEW PROPOSALS, AND STUPULATES IN ORGANIZA-
TIONAL SECTION THAT DISCUSSION ON THESE TWO POINTS WILL BE
HELD "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE STRUCTURE AND SEQUENCE OF THE
FINAL ACT". OTHER ASPECTS OF NNA PAPER, INCLUDING KEY
POINTS ON COMMITTEES AND DURATION, SEEM GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE TO US.
IN VIEW OF OUR REQUEST FOR AUTHORIZATION TO ACCEPT SEPARATION

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WITHOUT TICKS (REFTEL), THIS TELEGRAM PROVIDES FURTHER
INFORMATION ON DEVELOPMENT OF ALLIED AND CONFERENCE VIEWS
ON THIS ISSUE, AND INCLUDES AN ANALYSIS OF RELE-
VANT PORTION OF NNA PAPER. THIS TELEGRAM ALSO REQUESTS
AUTHORIZATION TO ACCEPT NEUTRAL AS A BASIS FOR FINAL RESULT,
MOVING CAREFULLY TO PRECLUDE SIGNIFICANT SOVIET CHANGES. END SUMMARY.

1. TO PLACE NNA PAPER IN CONTEXT, IT MAY BE USEFUL TO REVIEW DEVELOPMENT OF ALLIED AND CONFERENCE THINKING ON KEY AGENDA AND ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES WHICH IT COVERS. BEGINNING LAST SPRING, ALLIES BEGAN CONSIDERATION OF TACTICS FOR PREPARATORY MEETING, BASED ON TWIN OBJECTIVES OF (A) OBTAINING AGENDA AND PROCEDURES WHICH WOULD FACILITATE ACHIEVING WESTERN OBJECTIVES AT MAIN MEETING, AND (B) GETTING THROUGH PREPARATORY MEETING AS EFFICIENTLY AS POSSIBLE IN ORDER TO GET TO THE PRINCIPAL BUSINESS OF BELGRADE--THE MAIN MEETING. TO ACHIEVE THESE OBJECTIVES, ALLIES AGREED ON A TACTICAL APPROACH OF TABLING A COMPREHENSIVE PAPER UPON THE OPENING OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING. THIS TACTIC WAS DESIGNED TO FORCE THE MEETING TO GET DOWN TO BUSINESS IMMEDIATELY, TO AVOID A DISCUSSION OF THE "POLITICAL CONCEPT" OF THE MAIN MEETING, AND TO DEMONSTRATE THROUGH REASONABLE POSITIONS THAT THE WEST DID NOT WISH TO RAISE MAJOR PROCEDURAL PROBLEMS DURING THE SUMMER.

2. THIS TACTIC HAS THUS FAR BEEN SUCCESSFUL. SOVIETS, CAUGHT OFF BALANCE, WERE FROM THE START FORCED TO MATCH REASONABLE ALLIED POSITIONS. THEY HAVE ALREADY MADE SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS; IN PARTICULAR, THEY HAVE (A) ACCEPTED THE FINAL ACT AS THE BASIS FOR WORK IN BELGRADE; (B) ACCEPTED AN AGENDA ITEM ON FOLLOW-UP

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TO BELGRADE; (C) ACCEPTED AN AGENDA ITEM INDICATING THAT THERE WILL BE A FINAL DOCUMENT EMANATING FROM THE MAIN MEETING; (D) ACCEPTED THE EXISTENCE OF SPECIALIZED WORKING BODIES; (E) ACCEPTED A LENGTHY (THREE-MONTH) MAIN MEETING; (F) ACCEPTED THAT INAUGURAL AND CLOSING SESSIONS WILL BE PUBLIC; (G) ACCEPTED AN OPTICAL SEPARATION BETWEEN REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND HANDLING OF NEW PROPOSALS.

3. THERE ARE, OF COURSE, DETAILED PROBLEMS RELATING TO SOME OF THESE POINTS WHICH HAVE YET TO BE WORKED OUT IN DRAFTING. THERE ARE ALSO IMPORTANT INDIVIDUAL ISSUES ON WHICH THE FINAL RESULT IS NOT YET CLEAR, PARTICULARLY THE FORMULATION OF A TARGET OR CLOSING DATE, AND THE SEPARATION BETWEEN IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS UNDER THE AGENDA ITEM ON THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS.

4. IN VIEW OF OUR REQUEST FOR INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS LATTER ISSUE, DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO RECALL THE BACKGROUND TO IT. WE ORIGINALLY PROPOSED TO OUR ALLIES LAST JANUARY THAT THE AGENDA FOR THE MAIN

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FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

MEETING MIGHT CONSIST OF THREE SUBSTANTIVE ITEMS: REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION; RECEIPT OF NEW PROPOSALS; AND CONSIDERATION OF FURTHER FOLLOW-UP. TO CLOTHE THIS AGENDA IN MORE ACCEPTABLE FORM, WE USED LANGUAGE FROM FINAL ACT. WHILE THIS PROPOSAL SEEMED SIMPLE AND STRAIGHTFORWARD-- EVEN MODEST--IT WAS, IN FACT, MAXIMALIST IN ITS AMBITIONS, SINCE IT CLEARLY SEPARATED IMPLEMENTATION FROM NEW PROPOSALS IN A WAY WHICH WAS NOT FORESEEN BY THE FINAL ACT, WCH PUTS THESE TWO ELEMENTS TOGETHER IN A SINGLE SYTENCE. WE BELIEVED THAT THIS WAS A GOOD STARTING POINT, WHICH GAVE FULL STRES TO THAT REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION WE CONSIDERED THE PRINCIPAL FUNCTION OF THE BELGRADE MEETING, AND GAVE US, UNDER THE APPEARANCE OF A REASONABLE POSITION, AMPLE MANEUVERING ROOM TO ENSURE THAT A BONA FIDE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION WOULD TAKE PLACE..IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT SEVERAL ALLIES, WITH THE SAME OBJECTIVES IN MIND, (PARTICULARLY FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS), TOOK POSITION

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DURING NATO CONSULTATIONS AND STILL BELIEVE THAT THE WEST WOULD BE BETTER SERVED BY KEEPING REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AND CONSIDERATION OF NEW PROPOSALS TOGETHER. THEY ARGUED THAT THIS WOULD PERMIT RAISING IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES AT ANY TIME DURING THE THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS, AND THAT NEW PROPOSALS IN ANY CASE GROW ORGANICALLY OUT OF IMPLEMENTATION EXPERIENCE AND CANNOT PRACTICALLY BE SEPARATED FROM IT. THE ALLIES AGREED WITH OUR VIEW, HOWEVER, THAT PROPOSING A SEPARATION WAS A GOOD STARTING POINT FOR SUCH A NEGOTIATION.

5. UPON ARRIVAL IN BELGRADE, THE ALLIED POSITION WAS TABLED AS US/UK PROPOSAL. THIS FORCED THE SOVIETS TO MAKE AN AGENDA PROPOSAL OF THEIR OWN AND TO MEET US ON OUR OWN TERRAIN, THE LANGUAGE OF THE FINAL ACT. BY DOING SO, THEY ACCEPTED THAT THERE WOULD BE A "THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" ON IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY ARGUED THAT THESE TWO ISSUES SHOULD NOT BE SEPARATED BECAUSE THE FINAL ACT FORESEES TREATING THEM TOGETHER. LATER, THEY AGREED THAT THERE COULD BE AN OPTICAL SEPARATION MARKED BY A SPACE BETWEEN THESE TWO ITEMS, BUT WITHOUT IDENTIFYING MARKS OR LETTERS OF ANY KIND. MOST ALLIES AND NEUTRALS, CONSISTENT WITH EARLIER JUDGMENTS THAT IT MIGHT EVEN BE PREFERABLE TO DEAL WITH THESE SUBJECTS TOGETHER, NOW FEEL THAT IT IS NOT WORTH PAYING A PRICE FOR SEPARATION. THE NEW NNA PAPER MAKES IMPLEMENTATION THE FIRST SUBSTANTIVE AGENDA POINT AND SUGGEST ACCEPTING AN OPTICAL SEPARATION, BUT IN DEFERENCE TO OUR DESIRE FOR A CLEARER SEPARATION BETWEEN IMPLEMENTATION AND NEW PROPOSALS, INCLUDES A PROCEDURAL PROVISION STATING THAT THE WORKING GROUPS WILL DEAL WITH THESE CONFIDENTIAL

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POINTS "IN AN ORGANIZED WAY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE STRUCTURE AND SEQUENCE OF THE FINAL ACT." THIS COMBINATION GIVE EMPHASIS TO IMPLEMENTATION AND WILL PROVIDE US WITH A FULL OPPORTUNITY TO REVIEW IMPLEMENTATION IN DETAIL. WE BELIEVE THIS IS AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO MHTNPAMYSB VXNIAUESLBN AND FRCOMMEND THAT THE DEPARTMENT AUZQORIZE US TO ACCEPT IT, PROVIDED THE SOVIETS WILL ACCEPT IT TOO.

6. WE BELIEVE THAT GENERALLY, THE OTHER ASPECTS OF NNA PAPER CORRESPOND WITH OUR INSTRUCTIONS, AS TRANSMITTED IN STATE 135209, AND WE RECOMMEND THAT THE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZE US TO ACCEPT THIS PAPER, AS A BASIS FOR THE FINAL RESULTS OF THE PREPARATORY MEETING, WITH THE PROVISO THAT WE SHOULD MOVE CAREFULLY TOWARD ACCEPTANCE IN ORDER TO PRECLUDE

THE SOVIETS SEEKING SIGNIFICANT ALTERATIONS TO IT, AND
SUBJECT TO A NUMBER OF EDITORIAL IMPROVEMENTS. A DETAILED
ANALYSIS OF THE NNA PAPER FOLLOWS BY SEPTEL.
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